

Saskatchewan HISTORY

★ Informal Town
Government in
Regina

BY

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★ Hind's Prairie
Waterway

BY

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Saskatchewan History

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Informal Town Government in Regina, 1882-3

THE history of almost every urban community in Western Canada gives evidence of the need, even in the earliest stage of development, for some form of local government. Especially was this true in the case of Regina. Its choice as the new capital of the North-West Territories and its favorable location, on the mainline of the C.P.R. and in the centre of a choice agricultural area, led to very rapid early growth. The first parties of settlers had begun arriving in May, 1882,¹ and the railway reached Regina in August of that year. During the autumn the tents which at first had served as residences and places of business began to be replaced by permanent structures. This growth and concentration of population inevitably gave rise to problems which could not be solved through individual action or through the machinery of the Dominion or Territorial Governments. Incorporation as a municipality was thought of as the logical solution and eagerly sought by the residents, but constitutional difficulties prevented its early attainment. So urgent were the problems, however, that resort had to be made to informal expedients. These were the holding of public meetings and selection of small committees of citizens to attempt to carry out projects for community betterment.

Public meetings were the main agency for deciding on the general outlines of projects. The committees worked out the details and attempted to carry them out. Public meetings were held as new problems arose or as action to meet old ones seemed to be inadequate. They were apparently well attended, representative, conducted in an orderly manner, and served most satisfactorily for a full and frank discussion of affairs. The two groups of citizens who successively served as general committees and a number of special committees were chosen at such meetings.

It would appear that action to bring into existence some form of local government was precipitated by the fire hazard arising out of the close concentration of the first buildings. Because of their wood construction there was obvious danger that a fire, once started, might wipe out a considerable part of the new settlement. Consequently, on December 5th, 1882, a meeting of residents was held in the Royal Hotel to consider the problem.² A committee was appointed to investigate and its report was presented at a further meeting on December 7th. It recommended the "formation of a Fire Brigade, with a Hook and Ladder and Salvage Corps, and that their appliances consist of water pails, shovels, ladders, hooks, ropes, pipes, etc." The cost of establishing this system of fire protection was estimated to be \$1,000.

The action taken in dealing with this particular community need gave rise, moreover, to a continuing organization to deal with other public matters of a local nature. The committee recommended, in addition to its fire protection

¹ J. W. Powers, *The History of Regina*, pp. 20-1.

² *Ibid.*

proposal, that "Commissioners be elected by the citizens and duly and regularly authorized to carry out the organization of the above company [the Fire Brigade], and raise funds therefor, by subscription or assessment, or otherwise as should seem most practicable, and whose duty it would be to look after the public interests and affairs of the Town in the same manner and to the like extent as a Council of an incorporated City."³ The idea was popular and at a further meeting, on December 8th, seven commissioners were elected.

This informal machinery of local government, with no legal basis and many obvious disadvantages, was regarded as only a temporary expedient. The residents of Regina were largely from Eastern Canada and hence familiar with municipal and other full-scale forms of local government. They looked on the Commissioners merely as an agency for dealing with the most pressing problems, pending the incorporation of Regina as a municipality, with the usual machinery of government. In attaining this status, however, they were hindered by the lack of an established means of procedure. They turned first to the Dominion Government. A petition, dated at Regina on December 28th, 1882, was signed by three of the Commissioners. It reads as follows:⁴

To the Right Honorable
Sir John Macdonald
Minister of the Interior

The Petition of the undersigned Commissioners duly elected to represent the citizens of Regina humbly sheweth:

That the city of Regina now contains over one thousand souls,

That should the present rate of increase continue and we have every reason to believe that it will do so, by the 1st of June 1883 the city will include at least three thousand inhabitants,

That even at this early day the need of recognized authority was felt to be so great that the citizens deemed it necessary to elect Commissioners, to whom to entrust the duty of providing means of fire protection and to represent the general interests of the community,

That though supported by a majority of the citizens, the want of any legal authority, under which to act, renders the office of Commissioner very inefficient,

That no means can now be obtained of providing for sidewalks, lights, and drainage,

That many houses are built upon the streets and no power now exists to compel the occupants to remove them,

That public improvements are required almost immediately which alone can be provided by means of civic authority of some sort.

We would therefore respectfully beg that an act be submitted to the coming Parliament, to incorporate the city of Regina, with the usual powers conceded to cities [sic] in Canada by the Legislatures incorporating them.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Department of the Interior (Dominion Lands Branch). File 54657. Transcript in Province of Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon.

And in view of the vital importance to us, of having proper municipal powers, at the earliest date procurable, we would most respectfully ask that measures be taken so as to accord them to us as soon as may be practicable.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray

By order

W. H. Gibbs, Jr.,

Chairman

Percy Pope,

Secretary

J. D. Moulton,

Treasurer

This petition was forwarded to Ottawa by Lt.-Gov. Dewdney on December 29th, 1882, but no information is available as to what consideration was given to it. The Dominion Government did not take the action requested.

In the absence of any means of having established a legal local government, the residents had to rely on the Commissioners to get action in meeting its urgent public needs. These men were a cross-section of the most able and progressive elements of the new community. Daniel Mowat was a pioneer general merchant, who had come west from Ottawa in 1881 and operated stores in Shoal Lake, Manitoba, and at Fort Qu'Appelle, before settling in Regina. W. H. Gibbs, Jr., was the managing director of a colonization company, the Qu'Appelle Land Company, which had large holdings on the east side of Last Mountain Lake. James Reilly was one of the first architects and D. L. Scott was an early lawyer. J. A. McCaul operated a lumber and coal business. Percy Pope was a son of the Hon. J. C. Pope, Dominion Minister of Marine and Fisheries 1878-82, and a brother of J. C. Pope, who later held prominent posts in the Territorial Government. The seventh Commissioner was J. D. Moulton. The Commissioners proceeded to tackle a number of problems with considerable vigour. They held their first meeting on the day following their election.⁵ The signatures on the petition indicate that they elected a chairman, secretary, and treasurer. At first their meetings were private. Later, at a public meeting, the suggestion was made that the citizens would like to know what was being done and that the meetings should be open to the public.⁶ The suggestion was greeted with cheers, and apparently meetings of the Commissioners were open thereafter.

The problem of fire protection was dealt with early. At their first meeting the Commissioners appointed a local saddler named Cottingham to be Chief of the Fire Brigade.⁷ Equipment was purchased and the cost met out of \$800 subscribed voluntarily by the residents.⁸ The Fire Chief was directed by the Commissioners to survey the community regarding liability to fire. This report stated that there were 400 substantial dwellings and a population of 1000 but that fire conditions were good and that insurance companies should have no fear of doing business.⁹ The *Leader*, in its first issue, commented that the Brigade was in good condition and well-officered.¹⁰ However, in the issue of the following week, in

⁵ Powers, *op. cit.* pp. 20-1.

⁶ *Leader* (Regina), May 3rd, 1883.

⁷ Powers, *op. cit.*

⁸ *Leader*, March 1st, 1883.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

reporting a night-time fire in the C.P.R. engine-house, it stated that "the fire brigade of Regina was conspicuous by its absence."¹¹ One of the main difficulties encountered in providing fire protection was that of securing and storing an adequate supply of water.

The problem of public works was considerably eased by the fact that the Townsite Trustees were prepared to make expenditures to promote the development of the community and thereby facilitate the sale of their lots. The creation of a reservoir by the damming of Wascana Creek and the grading of the streets appear to have been done entirely by the Trustees.^{11a} The Commissioners played a minor part, however, in urging that the work be done.¹² The Commissioners do not appear to have taken any steps in regard to providing sidewalks. The *Leader*, in an early issue, reported that merchants on S. Railway street had arranged with a contractor to put down a two-plank sidewalk, which was badly needed.¹³

In the matter of water supply the Townsite Trustees made a grant of \$500 to the Commissioners, who undertook to have a well dug and pump installed. Considerable difficulty was encountered in finding anyone to dig the well and in securing the pump but eventually the project was completed. Water was struck at ninety-seven feet and rose to within thirty feet of the surface.¹⁴ Little information is available about whatever other activities were undertaken by the Commissioners. They discussed the problem of "dead carcasses" and other "nuisances" and the "Town Inspector" was instructed to ask persons responsible to have them removed. They were concerned also with the removal of buildings on surveyed streets and with the high toll exacted by the operator of the "police ferry".¹⁵

The activities of the Commissioners were, to some extent, directed and supplemented by public meetings, called sometimes by the Commissioners themselves and sometimes by other prominent citizens. Such a meeting in March discussed incorporation¹⁶ and one in April decided on the location of the post-office.¹⁷ Early in May a meeting was called to consider the best way of making Regina's advantages known to the outside world and to discuss representation in the North-West Council. In late June a meeting dealt with the problem of squatters on S. Railway street, whose presence was holding up the work of grading. This meeting appointed a special committee to interview the squatters and at an adjourned meeting it reported having secured their agreement to move.¹⁸ Another public meeting, on July 9th, discussed water supply and fire

¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 8th, 1883.

^{11a} *Dominion Sessional Papers* 1884 (No. 12) Part 4. "Report of the Lieut. Gov. to the Minister of the Interior." p. 3.

¹² *Leader*, May 3rd, 1883.

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 12th, 1883.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 26th, 1883.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, May 3rd, 1883.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 22nd, 1883.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, April 5th, 1883.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, June 28th, 1883.

protection and appointed a committee of six persons to act with the Commissioners in drafting a charter for the city.¹⁹ The meeting turned down, however, a suggestion that this committee should act with the Commissioners in spending money which was to be raised for fire protection purposes. The members of this special committee were Dr. Lafferty, a pioneer physician, and Messrs. N. F. Davin, editor of the *Leader*, J. H. Benson, lawyer, J. A. Kerr, hardware merchant, McCormick, and G. W. Smith.²⁰

While the Commissioners performed a number of useful services they were eventually replaced by a somewhat more elaborate form of organization. There had been some dissatisfaction with the failure of the Commissioners to get action in regard to incorporation²¹ and with the way in which they had expended the money received from the Townsite Trustees for the original well.²² It would seem that the latter is reflected in the proposal that the committee appointed at the public meeting of July 9th should act with the Commissioners in expending additional sums. In any case, it is clear that the retirement of the Commissioners shortly thereafter was precipitated by difficulties encountered in connection with the raising of these additional funds. At the public meeting on July 9th a large number of residents had agreed to subscribe but when the commissioners took around a note to raise the funds these persons refused to sign it. The Commissioners therefore tendered their resignations at the public meeting on July 12th. They were thanked for their efforts on behalf of the community and their resignations accepted.²³

At this latter meeting it was decided that notice be given of a further meeting at which a new committee or commissioners would be elected and the character and numbers of such committee would be decided. This meeting was duly held on July 16th.²⁴ Mr. N. F. Davin was in the chair. Considerable discussion took place as to the size of the "Citizens' Committee" as it was to be called. Numbers of members from seven to thirteen were suggested and eventually eleven was agreed upon. Election to the new body then took place and the large number of persons nominated indicates the interest taken. The good temper of the gathering is suggested by the newspaper report that while the ballots were being counted various men in the audience sang popular songs which "contributed greatly to the hearty enjoyment of the crowd which did not feel the time pass." Those elected were: of the original Commissioners, D. L. Scott, W. H. Gibbs, Jr., and J. A. McCaul; of the additional committee appointed on July 9th, Dr. Lafferty, N. F. Davin, J. A. Kerr, and J. H. Benson; and Messrs. Ferguson, James Hambly, a furniture and outfitting merchant, and W. C. Hamilton and James Secord, lawyers. Others nominated but not elected included Messrs. Robson, James, Reid, Ross, Martin, Mowat, Lindsay, and LeJeune. The meeting passed resolutions instructing the Committee to hold weekly meetings, open to the public, and directing them specifically to frame a charter and carry out incorporation

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, July 19th, 1883.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, March 22nd, 1883.

²² *Ibid.*, July 19th, 1883.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

and to execute the wishes of an earlier meeting regarding fire protection and water supply. So that the Committee would have some general authority and not be restricted to these specific projects, a motion was passed giving them power to act in regard to such other affairs as did not involve the expenditure of a considerable amount of money.

The Citizens Committee proceeded to organize itself rather elaborately.²⁵ At its first meeting, it elected a chairman, D. L. Scott, a secretary, J. Secord, and a treasurer, J. A. McCaul. It appointed standing committees as follows: Finance, Sanitary, and Miscellaneous, with four members each, and Fire and Water with six. The chairman was an ex-officio member of each. Special committees were set up from time to time as circumstances required. One of these was established to draft rules of order for debate and procedure and its report was adopted in due course. Meetings were fixed for Monday night and arrangements made for meeting in one of the churches. Newspaper reports of meetings regularly include reference to the reading of minutes.

The most important matters occupying the attention of the Citizens' Committee were still, as they were for the Commissioners, water supply and fire protection. At the first Committee meeting the Fire and Water standing committee was instructed to attend to the town well. Furthermore, the Committee attempted, as instructed, to carry out the program decided on by the public meeting of July 9th. This was that two sites should be selected and at each a well dug and a water storage tank installed. It had been pointed out that when a fire occurred it was important to have a considerable quantity of water on hand and therefore the storage tanks were more important than merely a large number of wells. Furthermore, a small fire engine and hose were envisioned. All this was estimated to cost \$2,000. The Committee sought tenders for three wells. The new wells were to be four and one-half feet in diameter.²⁶ No specifications for the tanks are recorded but reference was made to some at Moose Jaw which were round cistern tanks, nine feet by eleven feet, with tops three feet below the surface. The lowest tenders received were \$4.40 per foot for sinking the wells and \$440 for putting down the tanks.

Such an expenditure proved to be more than could be raised by the means available to this informal type of town government. The original Commissioners had apparently contemplated a "tax" on water to repair the first well²⁷ but this method would have been quite unsuited to financing such a large capital expenditure as was now projected and no steps along this line were taken. The Committee apparently tried first to secure the \$2,000 by borrowing from the local banks on a note signed by local citizens but was unable to raise the funds in this way.²⁸ They turned next to a plan of getting residents to subscribe, with the understanding that their subscriptions would be returned out of the first taxes raised by the town council after the municipality was incorporated. Some success was achieved. The livery-stable keepers all agreed to contribute towards

²⁵ *Ibid.*, July 26th, 1883.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, August 23rd, 1883.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 5th, 1883.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, August 9th, 1883.

a tank. The Finance standing committee by August 13th had subscriptions totalling \$330 and were requested to continue their canvas.²⁹ Apparently the Committee was not able to raise the necessary funds as a program on such a scale was not implemented until after the town was incorporated.

In contrast to its rather extensive plans, the Committee's accomplishments in the fields of fire protection and water supply were rather meagre. From time to time they repaired the original town pump.³⁰ They collected the original fire equipment which had been scattered throughout the town and had it stored in a central place. More water supply did become available but this was through the digging of wells by private individuals or groups of neighbours.³¹ By the end of November it was reported that there were five good wells in operation. The Committee also attempted to deal with the fire hazard by regulation. On August 6th, J. W. Smith was appointed Fire Inspector to inspect all chimneys, with his salary to be paid from the city fund after incorporation, but there is no record of his activities. Later in the year a new inspector, by the name of Knight, was appointed. The Citizen's Committee, lacking any legal authority, could not by itself have taken any effective action against offenders. Fortunately, however, there was a Territorial Ordinance on the subject of chimneys, stove-pipes, etc. The Committee therefore instructed its inspector to make a note of any transgressions of the ordinance, give the offender a week's notice to rectify the situation, and in default thereof to lay the matter before the mounted police officers.

The other field which seems to have occasioned most concern was sanitation. The condition of water closets was generally bad. Attention was drawn from time to time to the menace to health involved in accumulating garbage. While the committee was agreed as to the need for some action, there were differences of opinion as to what was the proper course. It was agreed that sewers were out of the question. The cost would have been even more prohibitive than in the case of fire protection. Two procedures were suggested: insistence upon the use of dry earth closets, and a public system of scavenging. But these solutions would have involved either or both considerable expenditure and powers of compulsion. The only action taken was to encourage Mr. Davin, one of the members of the Committee, to carry on a campaign of education in his newspaper. He was quite agreeable to this and admonishing editorials and short notes on the subject appeared regularly.

In addition to these matters and to steps taken in regard to incorporation, there are reports on only a few minor activities of the committee. The Dominion Government was requested to introduce direct mail service between Regina and Prince Albert.³² A special committee interviewed the Police authorities regarding the removal of the Police barracks and the Townsite Trustees were requested to plant trees on Victoria Square.

The relative ineffectiveness of the Citizens' Committee, as of the Commissioners who preceded it, is to be explained, not on the grounds of any lack of

²⁹ *Ibid.*, August 16th, 1883.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, August 2nd, 1883.

³¹ *Ibid.*, October 25th and November 22nd, 1883.

³² *Ibid.*, July 26th, 1883.

ability amongst its members, but by the lack of powers of their rudimentary organization. The Committee included some of the ablest business and professional men in the community. A number of these played important parts in the later full-fledged municipal government of the Town of Regina and some of them participated in political life on an even wider scale. Their organization, however, possessed no legal existence or authority. The most notable deficiencies were their inability to levy and collect taxes, to borrow money, and to enforce regulations. Lack of taxing and borrowing powers restricted their money-raising to the soliciting of voluntary contributions. In a community growing as rapidly as Regina was in 1883 this was quite inadequate as a means of financing the capital investment in the local public works which were urgently required. The lack of regulatory powers left the organization dependent on the enforcement of ordinances of the Territorial Government. These were few in number, limited in fields covered, and, of special importance, not designed specifically to meet the needs of the Regina community. Furthermore, enforcement was uncertain. All that the committee could do was to see that complaints were laid. For action, they were dependent upon the Mounted Police and the magistrates.

The only satisfactory solution to these various local problems was through genuine local government. Nothing in the experience of the Commissioners or of the Citizens' Committee suggested that such informal expedients might postpone the need for full-scale municipal machinery. The movement for incorporation, therefore, continued unabated. From the first, the expectation had been that a special charter would be secured from the competent legislative authority. At its first meeting, the Citizens' Committee appointed a special committee to draft a charter of incorporation.³³ This was presented at the Committee meeting of August 13th, discussed clause by clause, one amendment made, and then adopted. Later that month the Committee appointed a special committee to get signatures to a petition asking the North-West Council to incorporate Regina as a city.³⁴ As events turned out Regina was to attain the desired status, not by special charter, but under general legislation. In the designing of the latter, however, Reginans played a significant part. John Secord, secretary of the Citizens' Committee, is credited with having produced the first draft and the Committee sent a delegation to the North-West Council to urge certain modifications as the legislation was being considered.³⁵ The first municipal ordinance, No. 2 of 1883 was assented to on October 4, and under its authority, on December 8, Regina was proclaimed a Town municipality, the first in the North-West Territories.³⁶

A. N. REID

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, August 30th, 1883.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, September 20th, 1883.

³⁶ *North-West Territories Gazette*, December 8th, 1883.

Behind the Postmark

THE hobby of collecting early postmarks, a sideline to stamp collecting, can be both interesting and educational particularly as it concerns our own Province of Saskatchewan before 1905.

One sees and hears very little of the postal system of that period nowadays. True there are in our libraries many fine volumes written about the North-West Territories, the Mounted Police, The Riel Rebellion of 1885, the coming of the railroads and the growth of the West in general. However, the story of the various early post offices still operating and those long since extinct is far from complete.

Looking at an early map of the North-West Territories we find a number of provisional districts, two of which, Assiniboia, bordering on the United States, and Saskatchewan, immediately to the north of it, include all of the area which later became the province of Saskatchewan as well as the extreme eastern part of Alberta. The abbreviations Assa. and Sask. were commonly used in addressing mail and for post office cancellations. During the territorial period, 408 post offices were opened in Assiniboia and 127 in Saskatchewan. Of the combined total of 535, 497 were still in operation in 1905. Only nine of these post offices were located in that portion of the two districts which was incorporated in the province of Alberta, so that 526 post offices were actually opened in the present-day area of Saskatchewan.

Many towns in these districts no longer appear on present day maps; the names of others were changed for one reason or another. Mail for Saskatoon was addressed to Saskatoon, Sask., N.W.T., and until 1890 was sent to Moose Jaw by rail and then by wagon trail to its destination. Regina mail was addressed to Regina, Assa., N.W.T. Prosperity post office, so named because the wife of an early settler thought the district looked prosperous, was situated twelve miles north-east of Wapella. Several post cards which have come into my possession were postmarked in this manner: Prosperity, Assa. via Wapella, Assa., 1894. The latter was located on the railroad so presumably the mail was carried the rest of the way by horse and wagon. This post office was closed on December 1, 1917.

When tracing the early railroad line from Regina to Prince Albert, I was puzzled about the location of Bonnington. Reading a copy of *Saskatchewan History*, I ran across a letter from a contributor in Kenaston who mentioned the fact that Bonnington was changed to Kenaston before 1905. Picking up pen and paper I proceeded to write to this contributor for any further information relative to postal service. I learned there had existed a post office with a Bonnington cancellation but a search among old time residents of the district failed to unearth a single item with this postmark. If one were ever found it would be a valuable item.

Aside from the satisfaction gained from feeling much like a research worker in a comparatively unknown field, there is another fascinating side to this hobby. *Saskatchewan History* carries letters submitted by oldtimers mentioning places

in which they were born or to which they had come with parents as new settlers. I directed my first inquiries to these people and requested that they look for letters with postmarks of the districts in which they lived. Then came the rewarding experience of watching the effect which was similar to a catalyst setting off a chemical reaction. My original correspondents may not have had much information for me, nor any early post-marked letters, but many of them knew of others who could help me. Often they either forwarded names or wrote letters themselves. This sentence has appeared often in the replies I have received, "You have me really interested in this." I find that people are eager to co-operate perhaps because it helps to recall pioneer experiences and friends who were almost forgotten, and perhaps because they feel that in their small way they are unearthing some of Saskatchewan's interesting history.

One of my correspondents, now an enthusiast, told me of a visit to a long time resident of Rocanville. The aged man was most obliging and brought down packets of old, musty letters. The collector spent a happy hour or two going through the old covers. He put his treasures in the back seat of his car and headed for home some twenty miles away mentally congratulating himself on his good fortune. It is not enough to say he was extremely disappointed when upon his arrival home he found all his envelopes, with the exception of a few, gone. They had blown out the open car window.

Undaunted, this same man was out in a district west of Hazelcliffe looking for postmarks when he arrived at a certain farmhouse. It turned out they did not have any old letters or papers but a relative living nearby had stacks of them left to him by his father. A phone call was put through right away and what do you suppose happened? After having been preserved for sixty years they had gone up in smoke the other day. My correspondent was indeed a sad man. However, his enthusiasm has not waned in the slightest.

To those whose interest may have been aroused by this article, I should like to mention a few rules to follow. An old stamp should never be clipped or soaked from an envelope. The same applies to cutting out cancellations. The covers are always worth more intact. Occasionally an envelope will be badly damaged and beyond saving. In this case care should be taken in cutting around the stamp or stamps (leave them in pairs if they come that way) allowing a good margin.

If this enthusiasm continues to spread, the number of early letters, cards or documents turned up will be amazing. Postmarks of the period before 1905 deserve a place with other objects of historical interest. They are as much a part of the daily life of the pioneer as the early type plow, reaper, oxcart, steam engine and newspaper which historically minded people of today are endeavouring to collect and preserve for posterity.

CARL A. ANDERSON

Saskatchewan Imprints Before 1900

N EARLY 440 years after Johann Gutenberg invented printing, the first book was published in what is to-day Saskatchewan. Before recounting this event let us recall the history of the printing press in western Canada—particularly the achievements of the Rev. James Evans. This missionary gave the Cree nation a system of writing. Then came the problem of producing books for the Indians to read. Too well-known to need repeating is the story of how Evans made letter moulds from oak, type metal from the lead of bullets and tea-chest lining, and ink from chimney soot. Truly in ingenuity Evans was a worthy successor of Gutenberg. In 1841 at Norway House from his crude press came the West's first book, a small hymnary in Cree syllabic.

At Fort Garry eighteen years later the West's first newspaper—*The Nor'-Wester*—began its stormy career, but no books were printed from this press. The early 1870's saw the rise and fall of several newspaper ventures in Winnipeg, as Fort Garry had become. One of these ephemeral papers was *The Manitoba News Letter* published by P. G. Laurie,¹ and it was from this press that the first English book published in the West appeared late in 1870. The 28-page pamphlet is a narrative poem describing the experiences of the Wolseley expedition. It was written by J. C. Major and was entitled *The Red River Expedition*.² A copy is in the Canadian Archives.

The summer of 1878 found Laurie freighting his press 600 miles westward to Battleford, where he set up his equipment and began publishing the *Saskatchewan Herald*. During the period when Battleford was capital of the North-West Territories, Laurie was government printer. It is interesting that his first task as Queen's Printer was the printing of marriage licenses and advertising the marriage ordinance. The Territorial government had been granted few money raising powers, and this was one of them. Since white settlers were few, and the Indian blissfully ignorant of the new legalities, marriage fees were slim support for the structure of government. In 1879 Laurie published *Ordinances of the North-West Territories passed in the years 1878 and 1879* in English and French, Saskatchewan's first book. Apparently only a limited number were printed, for in 1884 a new edition was printed at Regina. This first volume bearing the government imprint was, of course, followed by a growing number of government publications.

In the forty years after the acquisition of Rupert's Land by Canada perhaps eight-tenths of the books and pamphlets about the West were designed to inform inhabitants of eastern Canada, United States, and Britain of the wonderful prospects awaiting settlers who came to the Canadian West. Hence it is fitting that the first non-government book published in the future province of Sask-

¹ Patrick Gammie Laurie, 1833-1903. See the Canadian North West Historical Society's publication *The Story of the Press*.

² A facsimile reprint has recently been published by the Bibliographical Society of Canada.

atchewan should be a piece of immigration literature. Written by William Laurie,³ it was published at Battleford in 1883. *The Battle River Valley* ran to 104 pages, and consisted of articles which had previously appeared in the *Saskatchewan Herald*. Written at a time when the railway had taken the southern route, and the capital had been moved to Regina, it pointed out to prospective immigrants that the valley of the Battle was still a good place to live.

The new capital's first publicity pamphlet appeared in 1889 when the Board of Trade published *A few facts respecting the Regina district in the great grain growing and stock raising province of Assiniboia*. This was printed by *The Leader Press*, and ran to 40 pages.

The citizens of Prince Albert had long chafed at their isolation from markets. The bright hopes of the early 'Eighties that the river steamers of the Winnipeg and Western Transportation Company would solve the transportation problem were grounded on the sand bars of the Saskatchewan and finally lost in the vagaries of new channels in the neighborhood of Cumberland Lake. When at last, in the summer of 1890, the steel of the first railway approached Prince Albert, the Lorne Agricultural Society hastened to advertise the district. The society's 79-page pamphlet appeared three months before the last spike of the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan railway was driven. The pamphlet was entitled: *Prince Albert and the North Saskatchewan; a guide to the fertile belt now being opened up by railway from Regina to Prince Albert, the central city and capital of Saskatchewan*.⁴

The following year *The advantages of the Prince Albert district . . . opinions of disinterested parties* appeared. The "disinterested parties" gave glowing testimonials of success since settling in the district. The pamphlet was published by *The Saskatchewan*, much to the annoyance of the rival paper, the *Prince Albert Times*.

From the press of the *Assiniboian News* of Saltcoats in 1895, came *North-west homesteads; how they are built up*. The pamphlet was a collection of testimonials of success in the Yorkton and Saltcoats districts.

A more subtle type of immigration literature were local directories which in addition to listing people and businesses, set forth the opportunities awaiting the settler and capitalist. In 1887 *The Leader* published J. W. Powers' *History of Regina*, a 93-page illustrated book. Missing from the pages of this interesting directory was the name of Regina's leading trader of that day. 'Tis said this is to be explained by a disappointment in love suffered by compiler Powers.⁵ Women

³William Laurie, 1856-1927, lawyer and journalist. Eldest son of P. G. Laurie; member of second graduating class of Manitoba college, 1875; entered Winnipeg law firm, but later went into journalism; settled in Battleford, 1885; participated in the Sask. Rebellion, 1885; member of the Dominion Indian Dept., 1885-96; practiced law at Cardston, Alta., 1896-1912; returned to Battleford where he practiced law until his death.

⁴I have not seen a copy of this item. It is described in the *Prince Albert Times*, August 1, 1890.

⁵John Weston Powers, 1852?-1905, journalist. An Irishman who lived in the Temperance Colony at Saskatoon where he was justice of the peace, schoolmaster, and publisher for a time of a manuscript paper, 1884-85; moved to Regina where he engaged in journalism; connected with the Territorial civil service as a clerk in charge of the library, 1889-91; moved to San Francisco where he died of tuberculosis.

were scarce in the frontier village, but the merchant had a family of attractive daughters of a marriageable age. Powers wooed one, but she would have none of him. He persisted in his courtship until the girl cooled his ardour by throwing a pail of water on him when he came calling one evening. In his book Powers took the reader for an imaginary walk about the village, pointing out the places of business; apparently he walked by the merchant's establishment with closed eyes for there is no mention of it. Such was the revenge of a lover spurned.

The following year the *Qu'Appelle Progress* press printed McPhillips' *alphabetical and business directory of the district of Saskatchewan*.⁶ This was a valuable directory of Prince Albert, Battleford, Saskatoon, and several other pioneer communities in that region. It was 146 pages in length.

In the Manitoba Legislative Library is a 15-page booklet called *An old woman's story*. It was written by Lizzie Rowe and was printed at Regina by *The Leader* in 1886. On the title-page in a bold hand is written the following: "This is the first literary work issued from any press in the North West Territories. Nich's Flood Davin." Miss Rowe was Davin's niece. The locale of the story is Ireland, and it is doubtful if the writer ever lived in western Canada.

Three years later two publications of Davin's⁷ came off the press of *The Leader*. *Culture and practical power* was an address delivered at the opening of Lansdowne College, Portage la Prairie. Davin in the same year published his *Eos: an epic of the dawn and other poems*.⁸ This volume of 141 pages was Davin's collected verse composed over a period of twelve years. Forgetful of the inscription he had penned in Lizzie Rowe's work, Davin stated in the preface that *Eos* was the first purely literary work published in the North-West Territories. He also stated "I am a North-West man, and I think the cultivation of taste and imagination as important as the raising of grain." He expressed the hope that his literary effort would be the beginning of great things in the literary field in the Territories.

Another interesting early literary effort bearing a local imprint is Bertram Tennyson's *The land of Napioa, and other essays in prose and verse*. This 155-page book was printed by the *Moosomin Spectator* in 1896. The author was a lawyer and nephew of Lord Tennyson, poet-laureate of England.⁹ Professor E. A. McCourt points to *The land of Napioa* "as evidence that literary genius is not necessarily transmitted to nephews."¹⁰

⁶ Henry Thomas McPhillips, 1850-1913, printer and journalist. Arrived in Manitoba, 1881; published a paper in Winnipeg for a few years, then moved to Prince Albert; for a time held a position in the Dominion Dept. of Inland Revenue stationed in the N.W.T.; spent many years in U.S.A., but at the time of his death was publishing a local paper in western Canada.

⁷ Nicholas Flood Davin, 1843-1901, lawyer, journalist, member of the Canadian House of Commons. After a promising career in Britain as a journalist, and in Ontario as a lawyer, he settled in Regina and founded *The Leader*, 1883; represented West Assiniboia in the H. of C., 1887-1900; through his paper and in the H. of C. voiced the needs of the West; took his own life.

⁸ The leading poem and some others in the collection were published originally in Ottawa in 1884 under the title *Eos: a prairie dream*. The poet said that they had been composed in Ottawa "while delayed unwillingly from my prairie home."

⁹ Bertram Tennyson practiced law in Moosomin from about 1890 to 1901.

¹⁰ See E. A. McCourt's *The Canadian West in fiction*, p.8.

During election campaigns Saskatchewan voters are barraged with political brochures printed on cheap paper. An election pamphlet in French was printed by *The Saskatchewan* and circulated in the Batoche district in the Dominion election of 1891. In another Dominion election, that of 1896, Davin published a brochure in German.¹¹ During the campaign in the Territorial election of 1898 T. A. Patrick had printed in his interest *Facts bearing on the future of the North-West Territories: compiled for electors of Yorkton*. The 10-page booklet was printed by the Yorkton *Enterprise*.

Nineteenth century Saskatchewan imprints—excluding government publications—are few, but the reader must not be left with the impression that these were the only pamphlets written by the people of the area, or about it. One has only to recall the pamphleteering occasioned by the hanging of Riel.

BRUCE B. PEEL

¹¹ I have not seen the above pamphlets, but am indebted to Earl Drake, a student of journalism in Saskatchewan, for information about them contained in early Saskatchewan newspapers.

The first meeting of the Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons for the N.W.T. was held in Regina last Monday. The following members were present: Doctors R. G. Brett, J. D. Lafferty, R. B. Cotton, and Edwards. Dr. Edwards was elected president, Dr. Lafferty vice-president and Dr. Cotton registrar and treasurer; executive committee Doctors Edwards, Cotton and Brett. Other business was transacted, principally of a routine nature.

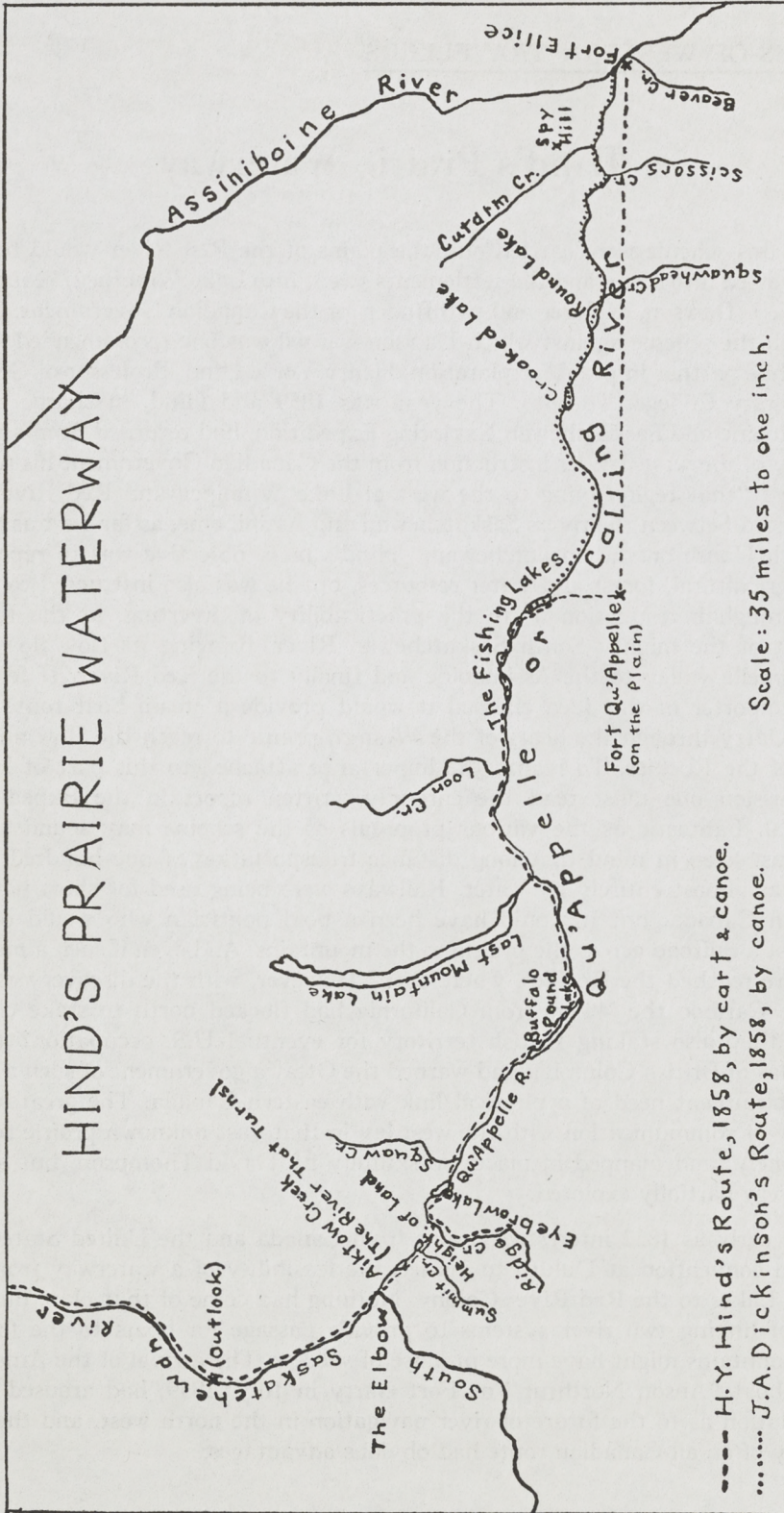
—*The Regina Leader*, March 18, 1890

TALES OF WESTERN TRAVELLERS

Hind's Prairie Waterway

“IF this scheme were carried out, the plains of the Red River would be converted into a sea, and the settlements swept into Lake Winnipeg,” cautioned S. J. Dawson, explorer and pathfinder for the Canadian Government. Oddly enough the scheme against which Dawson warned was one recommended by his erstwhile partner in prairie exploration, Henry Youle Hind, Professor of Geology at Trinity College, Toronto. The year was 1859 and Hind, in charge of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, had returned from a year's survey of the west. Under instruction from the Canadian Government his parties covered “that region lying to the west of Lake Winnipeg and Red River and embraced between the rivers Saskatchewan and Assiniboine, as far west as South Branch House on the Saskatchewan.” Hind's main objective was to report on the agricultural, forest and water resources, but he was also instructed to make a thorough investigation as to the practicability of diverting, at the Elbow, a part of the mighty South Saskatchewan River, bringing its flow down the Qu'Appelle valley to the Assiniboine and finally to the Red River. If feasible, the supporter of this idea claimed it would provide a steam boat route from Fort Garry through the heart of the Western prairie to reach the Bow and the foot of the Rockies. To realize the importance attached to this part of Hind's commission one must read the carefully written report in the Expedition's Journal. Fantastic as the various proposals of the scheme may sound today, we must keep in mind that long distance transportation of one hundred years ago was almost entirely by water. Railways were being used for short hauls in eastern Canada, but it would have been a bold politician who would openly suggest a railroad across the prairie to the mountains. And even if such a madcap venture reached the Rockies, where then? However, with the discovery of gold in the Cariboo the '49'ers from California had flocked north to stake claims. Were they also staking British territory for eventual U.S. occupation? James Douglas of British Columbia had warned the Ottawa government of such a peril, and the urgent need of a physical link with eastern Canada. The greatest difficulty of communication with the west lay in that vast unknown prairie region, the lonely land mapped in places so skilfully by David Thompson, but as yet only very partially explored.

As early as 1822 interested groups from Canada and the United States had met in convention at Duluth to discuss the feasibility of a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Red River Colony. Nothing had come of that plan, but this idea of linking two river systems to provide passage for boats to the foot of the mountains might have more promise of success. The arrival of the American steamboat “Anson Northrup” at Fort Garry in July, 1859, had aroused great speculation as to the future of river navigation in the north west, and the possibility of an all-Canadian route had obvious advantages.



The vital link in the "diversion" scheme appeared to lie between the "Indian Elbow" of the South Saskatchewan and the headwaters of the Qu'Appelle. Over the years the buffalo brigades and traders who had lived and hunted in the region brought tales of a feasible canoe route from the Saskatchewan to the Qu'Appelle. They told of a connecting stream which at high water reversed its flow for a short time and provided uninterrupted passage between the rivers. The stream was known to the Indians as the "River That Turns". Along its course ancient Indian lore had built many a legend and camp fire tale. Here that boisterous North-Wester, John MacDonald of Garth, found remains of countless camp fires as he explored the South Branch in 1804. Here also the great buffalo hunts made rendezvous, and many a painted war-party of Crees set out for a lightning stroke at the hated Blackfeet.

But Indian legend and hunter's yarn must be substantiated or disproved before any eastern capital would venture a penny on such an ambitious scheme as opening a waterway across the prairie. The Hudson's Bay Company appeared to be losing control of its huge western empire—this was a time for caution. Hind's exploration must bring back proof; not from the traders and Indians but from the exact records of his surveying instruments. The Qu'Appelle, the Calling River, still somewhat legendary, must be carefully examined from its junction with the Assiniboine near Fort Ellice, to whatever stream might give it birth back on the parched prairie near the South Saskatchewan. This connecting link must be measured most carefully.

It was indeed fortunate that Fort Ellice was so centrally located, enabling survey parties to use it as a base for a thorough coverage of the area from the Riding Mountains to the Touchwood Hills. Westward the problem of supply was a very real one. Qu'Appelle Post had little or nothing to offer and from there to the Saskatchewan the country was virtually unknown except to the local Indians.

Hind's party arrived at Fort Ellice on July 10, 1858, coming from a reconnaissance of the Souris country. In order to provide themselves with prompt river and lake transportation they had loaded two canoes on their carts at Red River, and no doubt the arrival of this rather unorthodox caravan roused more than casual teepee-talk around the Cree camp fires in the vicinity of the Fort. Mr. Mackay, officer in charge, gave the visitors every assistance, even to the extent of warning them about a "bad" Indian whom they had engaged to guide the party across the prairie. Two days later Hind set out on the first official survey of the Qu'Appelle country.

Before turning their faces westward from the little plain in front of the Fort they would surely take a last long look across the beautiful valley of the Assiniboine. Standing beside the Historic Sites cairn today, the spot is fixed forever in the memory, not as a lonely windswept hill but as a memorial to pioneer trails and travellers.

Hind decided to go overland on the cart trail leading westward from Fort Ellice to Qu'Appelle Post, then north to the Fishing Lakes. Here J. A. Dickinson, Surveyor and Engineer of the Expedition, would take charge of a canoe party

and returning downstream explore the Qu'Appelle to its junction with the Assiniboine. Hind and the remainder of the party would proceed westward to the South Branch of the Saskatchewan.

Dickinson's men launched their canoe in Echo Lake—known to them as "Fishing Lake No. 2"—on July 20th, and proceeded eastward recording measurements and notes of all the physical features of the Qu'Appelle valley. The party had to supplement their regulation sounding line with various pieces of cord, sashes, etc., to reach the greatest depth of Katepwe, noted in the Journal as sixty-six feet. Careful observations of the river convinced the surveyor that a great portion of the valley was flooded every spring. Watermarks were found on trees beside the stream indicating flood levels of eight feet above normal. Those familiar with the Qu'Appelle today will be interested to note that in 1858 the stream width in July is given as eighty-eight feet at the mouth, with an average of seventy feet for much of the distance between Fort Ellice and Lake Katepwe. The Journal makes reference to the year 1852 when the Indians stated that the valley from Sand Hill (now Eyebrow) Lake to the Assiniboine was one long lake.

Fortunately many of our western explorers' records were not merely tabulations of dry facts and figures. Dickinson's report on his Qu'Appelle trip contains fine descriptive passages dealing with the country's natural beauty. At Crooked Lake he stands on a hill "looking down upon the glittering lake three hundred feet below, and across the boundless plains, no living thing in view, I thought of the time to come when may be seen passing along the distant horizon the white cloud of the locomotive on its way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and when the valley would resound with the merry voices of those who have come from the busy city on the banks of the Red River to see the beautiful lakes of the Qu'Appelle." This comment is the more significant when one realizes that it was written twenty years before the final decision to build the first trans-continental railway across the prairies south of the Qu'Appelle in preference to Sandford Fleming's route north and west to the Yellowhead Pass.

It is interesting to compare the maps of 1858 with recent Topographical Surveys. In many cases the English translation of the Indian name has been preserved although changes and abbreviations have been necessary. Squawhead Creek enters the valley from the south about three miles east of Round Lake, this stream being originally called in Cree "Isquaw-istiquannak-Kaastaki", which translated means "where the heads of the women lie". The story is that in early times two Cree women were slain by the Mandans near this creek and their skulls lay there for many years. In order to procure the Indian names of the lakes and creeks along the Qu'Appelle, Dickinson interviewed an old Cree warrior retired at Fort Ellice. With a charred stick the old man drew on the floor a map of the valley from the Fishing Lakes to the Assiniboine, showing the little creeks so accurately that it was easy for the surveyor to recognize them.

It took the party seven days to reach Fort Ellice, a distance they logged as 256.59 miles from the Qu'Appelle Mission. Naturally, reference is made to the endless winding and twisting of the river, a problem which must have thrown considerable doubt on its practicability as a waterway for larger boats.

Let us now follow the fortunes of the party working westward from the Qu'Appelle Mission under Hind's direction. Any idea that the stream of the Qu'Appelle would serve as a quick means of reaching the Elbow was soon abandoned, due to its uncertain course through great marshes that now filled the valley. The canoe was re-loaded on a cart and the balance of the journey made along the edge of the valley, crossing from one side to the other as the trails appeared more favorable. Observing the thickly strewn boulders along the Qu'Appelle hills west of Buffalo Pound Lake we can only marvel at the dexterity of the cart drivers in being able to steer a course among them.

The explorers were in a dry and almost treeless land and fuel and fodder became a very real problem. All about them lay the remains of ancient encampments, marked by circular rings of stones which had served to anchor the skin teepees. At Sand Hill (Eyebrow) Lake the Indians they met spoke of a stream to the west, in this same valley but flowing westward to the Saskatchewan. If this were true they must be approaching a height of land, and in the words of their daily Journal "the physical structure and geology becomes an exciting subject of enquiry and speculation". To the Crees whom they interviewed, the excitement and speculation were confined to prying into the carts in a hasty search for rum. Their craving was apparently satisfied with gifts of tobacco and small trinkets.

It was essential to locate the true source of the Qu'Appelle, and an hour's ride south from the valley rewarded Hind with discovery of a small stream rising in the Eyebrow Hills and flowing through a deep ravine to the river. Modern maps name it Ridge Creek, and today the C.P.R. track crosses it about a mile south of Ridgeford station. About four miles west of the point where this creek enters the valley the explorers reached the divide. Careful examination located several ponds sending water westerly to the Saskatchewan and easterly to the Qu'Appelle. The valley had lost its sharply defined banks, these being replaced with drifting sand dunes. Far to the south they could trace the blue ridge of the Coteau, the divide between the streams flowing south to the Missouri and north to the Saskatchewan system.

They had reached the "River That Turns", and the task now was to gauge its fall to the Indian Elbow. On their measurements would rest the decision as to the feasibility of diverting water from the South Saskatchewan. Today we know this small stream as Aiktow Creek. On the map accompanying Paul Kane's "Wandering of an Artist in North America", 1845-48, it is called the West Qu'Appelle and the main river the East Qu'Appelle. David Thompson on his "Map of the North-West" referred to it as the Heart River. The present name "Aiktow" first appears on Palliser's map of 1857-59¹ and is also used on the 1880 "Map of the Prairie Region" which accompanies the report of Sandford Fleming, Engineer in Chief of the C.P.R.

Under Hind's direction a track survey was made of the valley from the height of land to the Elbow, a distance of about twelve miles. Their Journal

¹ Hind's examination of Aiktow Creek was not the first, as Dr. James Hector, geologist for the Palliser Expedition, had noted the "phenomenon of the height of land existing in the Qu'Appelle Valley" when he made a brief side trip eastward from the Elbow in October of the previous year 1857.

contains a map of the area, scale two miles per inch, outlining its features in considerable detail. Today's traveller may follow a winding trail through hay meadows north of Aiktow Siding to cross the stream near Middagh Lake over a bridge of uncertain age and underpinning. It would be in this locality that the explorers, at the invitation of the Sandy Hill Crees, witnessed the impounding of buffalo by the Indians. They first viewed an earlier pound enclosure and were almost overcome by the stench from the remains of about two hundred carcasses rotting under the broiling sun. The next day the white men were shocked by the ruthless slaughter and display of native savagery in the buffalo round-up. The ghosts of numberless buffalo must indeed haunt those lonely sandhills above the "River That Turns".

The survey continued to the Elbow, the map showing the Aiktow as a creek forty feet wide where it approached the South Branch. Those familiar with the small stream of today will realize how sixty years of settlement have reduced its volume. To the surveyors, the levelling and deliberate measurement were most important but one senses a note of urgency in their movements. The steadily increasing numbers of Crees, friendly but inquisitive, and the persistent rumors of Blackfeet war parties in the vicinity gave rise to some anxiety, and watchers were posted each night to guard the camp. On the completion of the Qu'Appelle exploration they were to launch their canoe at the Elbow and go downstream to Fort a la Corne on the main Saskatchewan.

The results of the survey between the Qu'Appelle and the Elbow might best be summarized in the words of the official Report to the Canadian Government.

"The height of land at the bottom of the Qu'Appelle valley occurs eleven and one-half miles from the Elbow, and is eighty-five feet above the summer level of the Saskatchewan (South Branch). The total fall from the height of land to the Assiniboine is one foot one inch per mile, and the difference in level between the South Branch and the Assiniboine at Fort Ellice is only two hundred feet. . . . A dam eighty five feet high and six hundred to eight hundred yards long (a few miles lower down the length of the dam would be much less) across the deep narrow valley of the South Branch . . . would send its waters down the Qu'Appelle valley, thence down the Assiniboine past Fort Garry, thus establishing a splendid and probably uninterrupted navigation for steamers of a large size for a distance exceeding six hundred miles. Beyond the point we reached, the South Branch was reported by the half-breeds who have visited it, to contain no impediments as far as the mouth of the Bow River . . . Whether it would be a matter of economy to construct a dam forty, fifty or sixty feet high across the South Branch, and make a cutting through the height of land in the Qu'Appelle valley corresponding to the altitude of the dam, is an engineering question I am not competent to discuss".

The report goes on to list numerous advantages that would accrue from the opening of the prairie waterway. The dangers of flooding the Red River area which concerned S. J. Dawson, had not been overlooked by Hind. His survey of the Portage la Prairie country records the discovery of Rat Rivulet rising west of Portage within two or three miles of the Assiniboine and separated from the main river by a low ridge. According to Hind's observation a shallow cut would

connect the two streams and automatically dispose of high water in the Assiniboine by allowing it to flow into Rat Rivulet and thence to Lake Manitoba.

History does not relate whether Dawson or other opponents of the Saskatchewan Qu'Appelle diversion scheme were silenced by these arguments. Western river navigation developed gradually, and boats worked their way up the Assiniboine past Fort Ellice to reach Pelly, and for some years steered a careful course around the sand bars of the South Saskatchewan. But fate decreed that the whistle of the steam boat would never rouse the echoes of the Qu'Appelle; the voices of the past must keep that legend for their own.

These earlier plans for diversion of the South Saskatchewan add particular interest to a study of the P.F.R.A. irrigation and power project now under consideration. With construction of the main dam between the Elbow and Outlook a great lake will swallow Aiktow Creek and fill the valley of the "River That Turns", reaching down the Qu'Appelle almost to Eyebrow Lake. Beneath its sparkling waters will lie the century old dreams of a waterway from the Rockies to the Red River. Beneath those waters too, will lie the countless campfires of a vanished race who loved the prairie as their home and heritage.

Although the years have changed much of what they recorded so carefully in their daily journals, the findings of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition proved of inestimable value to Canada. Its reports and recommendations provided a sound basis for later settlement in what has become one of the finest farming areas in the West. Henry Hind's reports in general painted a more optimistic picture of the agricultural possibilities of the region covered than did those of his contemporary, Captain Palliser. Subsequent developments have proven that Hind was justified in his conclusions.

To those who have followed its winding pathway from Fort Ellice to the Elbow, the haunting beauty of Saskatchewan's loveliest valley will never be lost. Despite the great changes that may come, the voices of the past will still call across its lakes and streams and hills, replying again and again to the echo of the ancient legend.

I am the one who heard the spirit voice,
Of which the paleface settlers love to tell:
From whose strange story they have made their choice
Of naming this *fair valley* the Qu'Appelle.
"Legend of the Qu'Appelle Valley"—E. Pauline Johnson.

W. S. SCARTH

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DOCUMENTS OF WESTERN HISTORY

The Diary of Robert Martin: Part II

In our last issue we reproduced the first section of the diary of Robert Martin, pioneer druggist and prominent citizen of Regina, dealing with his trip to Western Canada in 1882. In the following pages will be found the second and concluding portion of the diary, which recounts the experiences of Mr. Martin and his companions in trying to locate homesteads in the area between Regina and Lumsden.

—The Editor

Sunday, August 27th, 1882

We wake at 7 but don't rise until 8.30 A.M. All feel well slept and in good healthy condition. Make pancakes for breakfast, they are very good indeed considering. Get breakfast 9.30, soon after one of the settlers comes to see us. Tells us that all the land is taken up near here. He came from Cobourg. Shortly afterwards—12 o'clock—a surveyor comes along; and, as we had just been inquiring about surveyors, the settler introduced the crowd to Mr. McMillan. We invited him (McM.) to dinner, he accepted the invitation and, while we got the prairie chicken stewed, McM gave us useful information regarding settling. Advises us to go north (we are in Sec 17, Tp. 18, Range 21) one or two townships, and settle there. Long Lake is about 15 miles from here North. Cotton Wood Creek about eight miles. Before dinner we are visited by a few more Indians. They soon swell their numbers to a dozen and esconce themselves round our tents. They are Crees, dirty, lousy fellows. About dinner time a whole tribe appears on the opposite side of the creek. We estimate the number of lice on the ones round our tent to be as the sands of the sea, and, not wishing to become possessed of any live stock at present, we conclude that as "prevention is better than cure", we better pull up stakes and move away from them, more so because there was no show of the Indians leaving us. Mr. McM leaves us soon after dinner taking with him some letters and post cards to Qu'Appelle Fort whither he was going, and shortly after that we commenced to pack up to leave. By this time the tribe of Crees—led by "Pipe Head" or "Pot pie" for chief—advanced, crossed the Creek and are climbing the hill on our side. It was well for us we left there, for the Indians drew up on the other side of the trail, and by the time we were ready to camp they had started pitching their tents. It was a novel sight to see them coming up the hill. We estimated the total number of them to be as many as 300. They had fully 50 horses, some drawing carts, others drawing poles tied in a fantastic way to the pad on their backs. There were at least 50 dogs a great many of which were in active service drawing poles tied on their backs like on the horses. The squaws and Indians were mostly dressed alike. Some of the squaws were painted up in brilliant style, and others dressed in glowing colours. Special mention must be made of the grandeur of one couple on one horse's back. The horse was a small chubby native, a pretty little chestnut. On his back were a (what I took to be a male and female) Indian with a gilt-edged helmet hat (white) trimmed with feathers. He steered and managed the steed, and behind him sat the squaw draped and mantled with a red, white and blue striped blanket.

She had rings in her ears and beads in her hair, a noble sight, "Glorious queen of the Forest". Well they camped on the hill and we noticed that the squaws did the work while the Indians picked and ate cherries. Lazy dogs. We followed the trail going north for two miles and camped again on the bank of the creek. We had a splendid wash in the creek, changed and washed the old shirt. We had supper after 7. A little before supper one of our dusky neighbours came to us and made signs which seemed to intimate that he was coming back soon with some more of his crowd. Some of us felt a little bit alarmed. After supper we sang for two hours. Then to bed about 10 o'clock. It rained very heavy through the night. I heard very little of it. The day was quite warm but the night cool.

Monday, August 28th,

We are up at 5 o'clock, feeling well slept. Our Indian scare was a false alarm. At 7.45 we started north—down Pile of Bones Creek—with the intention of going to Long Lake. We kept along the high bank for about a mile or so and came to a deep gully (the folks here call them coolies) the oxen had to go round, we descended to a small spring creek at the bottom, fully 200 feet below the top of the bank. Here we found wild grapes, black currants, and raspberries. The currants are as large and some larger than the tame ones. They taste much nicer than the tame ones, more like gooseberries. We got them in abundance and enjoyed them very much. The face of the high banks—(and in fact the whole prairie)—are perfectly covered with rose bushes. Reaching the top again we went a short way and came to another coolie, and here we saw—what I never saw before—a great big fine looking deer, crowned with a handsome pair of horns. He scampered up the hill opposite us and away from us forever. We tried to interview him but he declined having anything to do with us. Next we got to Cotton Wood Creek. Jack and I got separated from all the others and for a short time lost sight of them. We were wandering westward thinking that the waggon had gone that way. After racing up and down hills we looked back and there we saw the remainder of the party climbing the opposite hill—easily 2 miles away from us to the East. To return to them we descended into the valley 200 feet below. Here we climbed over brush, through rose bushes higher than our heads, vines of morning glories, black currants and wild cherries in abundance, across the creek—which is almost dry—and up the opposite hill to where the others were waiting for us. We put in a goodly supply of fruit on the way too, as may readily be supposed. At the top of the hill a discussion takes place. If we want to make use of the R. R. we must not settle on the west side of the Creek, &c, &c. Finally it is concluded to abandon the Lake for today, and instead, to stop a mile or so further up P. of B. Creek, and, while Jack and I bake, the others explore the surrounding country. It is done and at 12 we stop on the bank of the creek in Sec. 13, Tp. 19, Range 22. From here the four started after dinner, two to Big Arm [Qu'Appelle] River (2 miles) and two to go up the Creek to the same River, there to meet and all come home together. While they were away we baked in our oven of sods, cleared things up generally and then tried to fish. We didn't get a bite, because there are no fish to bite. But yet we had the pleasure of seeing the creek, a pretty one to be sure, thickly wooded. From the tent we can see as pretty a valley as imagination can picture,

perfectly grand. About 7 the 4 got back and we had supper. Concluded to go on to the Lake tomorrow a.m. The day has been pleasant; tonight is cool. A pretty night (full moon). Go to bed at 10. The land over which we came today to where our camp is, is rich heavy soil, a clay loam.

Tuesday, August 29th

We are all lazy this a.m., don't get up till 6. I'm first and as I pass out I pull the blankets off of Bruce. He got up and chased me round in his shirt tail. At 7.30 o'clock we started towards Long Lake. 8.30 we were on the high bank (200 feet. high) of "Big Arm River" just at the place where the P. of B. Creek joins the River. From the top of the hill we had a grand view of the River and valley below. The valley is fully a mile wide. The River—about 20ft. wide—winds and curls round the valley in a strange manner and would puzzle a person to trace its course. The edges of the River are lined with bushes—and in between is level grass. Mr. Carss owns a large part of it and a section on the heights: 1280 acres in all. He has a large field of oats which was sown in June right on the sod, and then plowed in. I pulled a few heads as samples of his success. He has also a patch of potatoes which were planted in the furrows and the sod turned over them. They look very well. These fields, together with the general scenery, make a picture most magnificent to look upon. We descended to the valley, got a few lbs. butter from Mrs. Carss then we spread biscuits for dinner and started at 9 for Long Lake. Passing across by the fields, through rose bushes and vines to the bank of the River. We were directed to find a raft, and cross there; we found it, a craft made of 5 logs. We couldn't all cross on it so Alex and I stripped all off except hat. I carried clothes, &c, across while Alex propelled the "Alpha". Bill crossed over first, Jack next. Bill was Customs Inspector, while Jack was "bus driver" for the "Rosin". We had big fun. Alex tooting and both of us wading up to our ribs. Crossing this and waddling through rose bushes we climbed the hill and found the Tp. corner mound. Then 8 miles direct North—making 3 miles per hour—we reached the Lake. From the bank of the River to the Lake the land is very sandy and the higher parts pure gravel. The bank of the Lake is 200 feet high. The Lake is a pretty sheet of water, 35 miles long by about one mile wide. In the ravines are lots of black currants, cherries and rose bushes of tremendous size. We had dinner at the Lake and at 2.30 four of us started home. Martin & Bruce going up to Arm Creek. We got home after fording the Creek [Qu'Appelle], &c, (while crossing back Jack dropped his clothes getting them all wet) at 6.30. Got milk from Mrs. Carss. She wouldn't take pay for either a loaf of bread or milk. This, with the butter, made a great treat for us. We felt great anxiety about Jack & Martin. We were afraid they'd got lost on the prairie. However about 9 o'clock they turned up o.k. bringing six chickens with them. Carss was sick and we ministered unto him. Pills & Quinine. Then we went to bed at 10.30.

Wednesday, August 30th

We are up at 5.30 feeling a little stiff but pretty well with all. We had milk to our porridge, oh golly it was good. After bkfast it is decided that Jack and

I move the tent to Cotton Wood Creek, while the others go prospecting. Mr. Carss took me through his crops, garden, &c, all looking well. The frost the previous night nipped the tomatoes a little. He has beets as big as my arm. Potatoes as big as a tea-cup, all planted in June. Then he gave us a pail of potatoes. While this is going on Jack is sparking Mrs. Carss (a fine looking young woman); he made her the present of 3 chickens, and got 4 or 5 qts. of milk. Carss lives in 3 tents, has 15 milking cows—in all 100 cattle. At 10 we started for Cotton Wood and at 12 had the tent pitched at the Creek. We had to bake. We made a sod oven and Jack did the baking while I cooked the dinner. We had a gorge. Prairie chicken stew, potatoes, hot biscuits, stewed apples, tea *with milk in*, butter. Whew, what a feed! After dinner the boys took another direction. We baked, boiled rice &c, and had another extra feed at supper. We were all tired. The boys say they found land. After we had been asleep, we were aroused by someone of the boys smelling smoke from a prairie fire. A false alarm. Prairie fires are to be seen from every camping place. They look very pretty at night.

Thursday, August 31st

At 7 o'clock we are moving again. This time we expect to settle for a while as I think we can get land in Tp. 19, Range 21. Pitch our tent on sec. 19, Tp. 19, Range 21, after crossing the P. of B. Creek at Carss, getting a drink of milk from Mrs. C. as we passed. Then we went to see the section. We like 28 very well, also 22. Get back and have dinner at 4 (prairie chicken). Afterwards we go and break a little on 28. Find a break on 22. Get back to camp at 8.15. The boys settle a/c, find the total cost of trip \$459.10. The night is cool. The day was warm.

Friday, Sept. 1st

Up at 5.30. Same old program all forenoon hunting land. A great many of the sections have a small piece of plowing on. The township is an extra good one having Boggy & P. of B. Creeks and Arm River through it. We plowed a little on 18 & 22. Got back and had dinner about 2. Bill and Martin have been out and got back about 3. Martin has given his declaration to the surveyor for the north half of 20. Bill has taken a fancy to 4 and talks of "jumping" it. We go this afternoon to give in our declaration to the surveyor. Jack G for the West side of 22. Jack B for the half of 18, we for 28. The day is fearfully hot. At 4 o'clock we hitched up the oxen and started for the surveyor's camp. Shortly after starting we killed a great big hare. About 6 we left the oxen to feed while we walked to the camp. We walked up and down coolie after coolie along the bank of the Creek until darkness came over us. No signs of the camp yet. So at 8 we concluded that we could hardly find the camp at that hour and when so dark, and we turned then to find the oxen. Again we walked until we were sure we ought to be near the beasts. The moon was just rising. The night was cool and our coats were in the waggon. Then we went on again but had to give up the idea of finding the oxen so we paddled our way home. Were it not for stakes of course we were lost. We got back to the tent at 11.30 having walked over 15 miles. I feel tired but still not so very after all. We had some supper. Bill had heard wolves near our camp.

Saturday, Sept. 2nd

Up fresh as daisies at 6.30. Our work lies between this and the surveyor's camp. At 8.40 we start, get the waggon track and at 10 o'clock get the oxen. Find everything o.k. Hitch up and drive for an hour leaving the oxen to feed on the bank of the Creek. Here is a plantation of cherries hard to beat. We foot our way down and at the H. B. trail we came to the camp. Fortunately the surveyor is at home, so we make our declarations, chat and have pork and scones & tea with him, sitting up to a table for the first time for two weeks. Then at 2 we start back [and] cut some sticks on the Creek. Retrace our steps back, reaching our camp at 7 o'clock. Bill is baking. Martin is not well after so much tramping. Bill isn't satisfied yet. Jack B gives him a lecture. We continue the baking until after dark. Have supper, write a letter home and at 10 we are in bed asleep.

Sunday, Sept. 3rd

Rise at 7. Write another letter; get breakfast. Bill goes to P. of B. City. We bake. Martin finds a pair of deer horns of enormous size. The day is awfully hot. Dinner at 2. We have a wash. Alex and Jack B visit Mrs. Carss. Martin sees a man and tent on 20. Interviews the man, who says that he and 3 bros. have 20 and 22. Mr. Carss pays us a visit. Boiled rice and D Apples for supper. After supper we sing hymns until 10 o'clock and then to bed.

Monday, Sept. 4th

We get up at 5.30. All feeling well. We divide our work. Martin starts to build a sod house on 20. Jack and Jack go to chop, Alex and I to plough. We plow a piece on 22. Coming back on 28 we are rather surprised and displeased to find that a great portion of it reaches into the valley. We got back for dinner at 12.30. After dinner Alex cleans the gun. Then we all go to work. Jack G and I plough, and plough well too. Martin builds his house. Alex and Jack B mow hay. We have duck stew for supper. I shot one of the ducks. Lost my hat. Bill returns from Pile of Bones "(Regina)". He is terribly tickled with the "City". We talk big things about business in "Regina"—drugs &c, &c. We are all happy. Carss starts cutting his oats.

Tuesday, Sept. 5th

Rise at 5.30. Bill and Jack B go to see 36. Jack G bakes, Martin Love builds his house. Alex and I mow all forenoon. 12.30 we have our dinner. After dinner Martin & Alex mow all afternoon. Jack G and I plow and swear at the oxen. Such geeing and hawing. We plough a piece on 16 for the surveyor and when coming back the oxen ran away. No damage done. Have prairie chicken stew for supper. Bed 9.45 on hay—luxury. Such luxuries cannot be kept up.

Wednesday, Sept. 6th

Up at 5.30. We pack up, bound for 36. Get started at 7.30. Milk from Carss. Take a new trail which takes us five miles up the Cotton Wood. Arrive and

camp on 36 at 12.30. Rice & milk. Martin and I stay and bake. I do the baking. Bill goes to the 9 mens tent. Other three to build a bridge. Had frost in the valley last night. Today is pleasant, slightly cool, very windy. Prairie fires all round us. Towards evening the fire gets within 50 yards of our camp. Bill scared of it, proposes to move. We stop. Boys give me great credit for my baking. We came here to work on Bill's claim and intended starting right in after dinner. But seeing some extra ploughing on 36 we defer until Bill gets information that said ploughing was done in July by men who have since settled at Moose Jaw and have given up all claim here. About 9 o'clock the fire gets dangerously near our camp. We turn out the fire brigade, with spades &c, and soon smother about half a mile of it out. The night is quite cool. To bed on a terribly rough piece of prairie. I feel tired, and require no rocking to send me to sleep.

Thursday, Sept. 7th

Up at 5. Slept well, rough and all as my bed was. The morning is decidedly cold, snaps of fall. After breakfast we all start to work on Bill's claim. Bruce, Bill and Alex commence to build the sod house directly across the line. Jack and I plough. The oxen go very well. But the aligator hide makes some hard ploughing. About 11 I take all and plough alone. Just at 12—the house walls are four feet high and almost half an acre ploughed—we are accosted by a man, who arrives on a prairie schooner, with the news that he is owner proper of 36. He is quite mild about it and so is Bill. We have dinner and Bill and Alex settle with Mr. "Proper" by taking \$12.50 for the work we put on it. Then we packed our traps and started for "home" up the Cotton Wood to P. of B. junction. Down the hill we go into the Valley. Build a new bridge of brush across the creek. It just took us half an hour to build the bridge. Across we go waggon and oxen and up a terror of a hill like a winding stair. A great deal of shouting and licking the oxen. We get up at last and home at 6. Chicken and duck for supper. Bill thinks this life an empty show. Home again from the bloomin' other man's claim. Glad to get back on hay. Bed 9.30.

Friday, Sept. 8

Up at 5.30. Our biscuits are out and I stop home to bake while the others go to 22 and work. I build an oven and by noon have a box filled of beauties. A boss oven which turns out a pan of cakes every five minutes. At one o'clock Martin came back, had dinner and told me that Jeffrey had got up and was interviewing the boys. Jack had gone to water the oxen, and didn't get back for two hours having gone the wrong way. The other two told us of the wordy time they had with Jeffrey. Scotty said "Din ye ken phat section ye're on?" "Yes". was the answer "we're on the North half of Sec 22, Tp. 19, R.21". "Din ye ken y'reon my laun"? "No we don't think so, we came here, found no improvements on this half, did our improvements and have declared for it. "Well a've ploughed on the two hamesteads and ye're on the preemptions". "We consider that we've just as good a right to divide the way we like as you have." "The government only alloo twa hamesteads on each section." "Yes, but in case of dispute they will grant three." Scotty then talked about holding land for old country people.

He was told that that [rule] only was used when land is in the market and not to squatters.

"Well, me an my brither hev improved this section of laun, it is oors and, darn'd, but we'll hev it. Ye canna be aware of the laws of Boggy Creek, din ye ken that we've a strong gang with a Winchester rifle?" Scotty excitedly said "They just guv a man fufteen meenits to pack up's traps and leave." "Well", said Alex—"if you have a mind to shoot a man and then swing for it we're quite ready to let you go on with the show". "I'd shoot in a meenit if I was in a passion." Jack G. told him that we wouldn't be bullied off any place. We are on this place and will not go until we're put off. We only recognize Canada's laws. Jack Bruce came to the rescue and proposed peace. After considerable talk Scotty cooled off and went away in good humour to come back again. He came not, and we went on with the work until 7 o'clock. We have not seen him since. Jack's house is over 5 feet high. Write a letter after supper. Bill has been hunting land all day but just with the same success. He talks of going back to Winnipeg and give up in disgust. We get to bed about 10. Frost last night. Ice.

Saturday, Sept. 9th

Up at 6. The morning is cool. A very dense fog. We get to work at 8 on Bruce's estate. No one to molest us. The sods are bad and we make slow work. Martin is ploughing. It is agreed to have Carss to mow for us on Monday. Bill has decided to jump 22 in the next Tp. West. Will he succeed? Bed 9.30.

Sunday, Sept. 10th

Up at 6.30. Pleasant morning. Martin starts for Regina about 9. Bill goes to see 22. Alex and I have a wash in the creek. Cold, cold. I left my pants (my Sunday pants) outside my boots seeing it is Sunday. We get milk, and butter from Mrs. Carss. Mr. C. showed us a head of oats with 497 grains on it—a wonder. Bill returns disgusted with 22 and the whole hunt and starts back for Winnipeg tomorrow. This afternoon we have a visit from Mr. & Mrs. C. who stay with us a couple of hours, during which time we have a very pleasant chat and sing a few hymns. Enjoy ourselves very well. After supper I write to Dave Twatt and at 10.15 go to bed. Have a slight touch of cold tonight. The day has been fine. The night cool. Mosquitoes are no more.

Monday, Sept. 11th

Up at 6. Immediately after rising I start and build the oven and have hot biscuits for Bkfast. Bill is going away and the boys settle up with him and at 11 we bid good-bye to Bill. Jack Bruce goes to help him on his way. I go on with baking. Alex and Jack G to work on 28. At 2 I finish baking and off to 28. We plough and start a shanty; get along nicely. About 6 Scotty comes to interview us. He wants Jack G. to move to 20 and take a quarter section leaving the half for one of them besides all of 22. Gosh, what a stupendous offer! We'll do it in a hog's eye. Oh no, Scotty, we will stick to 22. You may bet your last cent on that.

Martin has light in the camp. We ran all the way down the hill in the full expectation of letters but ours is a disappointment for not a letter is there for us. I do really feel put out about it. Jack B. gets back tired and sleepy at 7.30. We have lost Bill, but are not very sorry. Bed at 9.30.

Tuesday, Sept. 12th

Rise at 6. The morning fine. Had a sprinkle of rain during the night. We are late getting to work. Before going, I shot two ducks. We get to work at 8.30 on 28. Martin ploughs. The four of us build Alex's shanty and at noon have it up 5 feet. We have some buns and milk with us and take our dinner at the waggon. At one we start on my shanty. Work away at it until 4. Get it up 2½ feet. Go to the camp, pack up and start at 5.15 for the hay field. On the way up the boys get two chickens. Four miles up we camp on the Qu'Appelle bank at 8 o'clock. Have supper. A good hay bed and bed at 9.15, tired and sleepy. The Valley all the way up is as flat as a pancake. Lots of good hay. Mr. Carss has up 300 tons. From here up for miles there are scores of men putting up hay. Wood on the south side of the creek is very scarce. We have difficulty in getting enough to cook our supper, and then it is only dead willows.

Wednesday, Sept. 13th

Up at 6. Had a heavy rain throughout the night. Mr. Carss takes breakfast with us. We all go to work soon after 7. Alex and I with Fred Carss stacking their hay. Martin and Jack B with scythes. Jack G to cook. The wind gets fearfully high and renders stacking impossible after 10. We cock our own hay till dinner. Stewed duck, potatoes, milk, &c. The wind gets up to a terrible pitch and at 2.30 we have to quit entirely. We then cut poles for a hay rack, getting back at 5.45. The wind is down so we cock hay until dark. We then have supper—prairie chicken, &c. Fred Carss lives with us and brought bread &c, &c. Have supper over by 8 o'clock; a pleasant chat, lots of laugh, and bed at 9.30. Fred Carss and I sleep together.

Thursday, Sept. 14th

Up at 5 o'clock before the sun. More frost again, makes ice. Out to work at 6.45 today. Forked hay until dinner time. Come across lots of mice nests. Fred strings the young ones on the prongs of his fork. The day is warm—a little windy. Have dinner and start to work at 1. Work hard all afternoon and succeed in putting up 11½ loads, quitting work at 6.30. After supper we started to write a letter to the "Advocate". I felt splendid after my days work. Go to bed at 9.30.

Friday, Sept. 15th

Up at 5. A lovely morning. To work at 6.30. Get 6 loads in and stop for dinner at 11.15. The wind rises again and makes haying difficult. Fred complimented me on my stacking. After dinner the wind blows a perfect gale so we quit stacking. About 4 I took "shaganappy" and a pail and rode down to Carss for milk and butter. Coming back I rode a mile until my arm got tired holding the pail. Got

off and walked leading "shaggy" for about another mile. In getting on her back again she reared up and tossed me milk and butter all in a heap, and away she scampered. I gathered up all that was left of the aforesaid heap and walked the rest of the way. Had rice for supper. Bed at 9.

Saturday, Sept. 16th

Up at 5. To work at 6.45. Haying with Fred until noon. We got all the hay in. After dinner we put in our own hay and get pretty well on by night. Quit at 6. All pretty tired. Go to bed at 7.45.

Sunday, Sept. 17th

Up at 7. Had heavy rain last night. The morning and all day is miserable. Martin & Jack go down with Fred for milk. Returning at 12.30 tell us if we go down at 6 we'll get the mail. Jack B., Alex & I go but come back disappointed. An 8 miles walk for nothing.

Monday, Sept. 18th

We are up at 5.15. The hay is wet after the rain. I have a wet walk after the oxen, up to the thighs in long wet grass. A heavy fog early in the a.m. soon departs with the sun. The boys are doing the washing. We get to work and finish our west stack by 12. After dinner Jack B., Alex and I go down and put up a few loads from an arrangement with Mr. C. Get back to camp at 7. To bed at 9'clock. Fred Carss went to Regina for lumber today and will bring our mail tomorrow. Aug. 19th was the last letters we got. Oh golly, won't a letter be nice?

Tuesday, Sept. 19th

Up at 5.30. Get out to work about 7. Cut brush and fix our stack, ploughing fire-breaks, &c. Then we moved down to our other hay (2 miles). After dinner Jack Glanville went down to Carss' and returned at 7.30 with *mail*. We were having duck stew for supper but I lost my appetite when I got my "big four" into my hands. To say that those letters were welcomed would not do justice to them. For myself I enjoyed them more than any I ever got in my time. 80 pages at once. Yum! Yum!

We pronounced the sunset this p.m. the grandest we ever saw. We have sunsets on the Lakes but none to equal this one from the Qu'Appelle Valley. The whole evening until 9.30 was spent in reading letters. Alex got 7, Jack G. 5. Our camp is in the midst of a bed of rose bushes near a splendid spring.

Wednesday, Sept. 20th

Up at 6. To work at 7. We finish putting up our 6 loads, which makes 20 loads in all for us. The wind rises and makes it difficult to pitch hay, however we toil away. Martin got two fine ducks which we have stewed for dinner. Have completely finished our haying, and glad of it. About 5 o'clock we packed up

and away to our good old home. The ducks are numerous on "our" slough. Alex & Jack got four good ones. Fred paid us a visit in the evening. The wind rises again towards midnight and we have a job to keep our tent from blowing down.

Thursday, Sept. 21st

Up at 6. I hastened down to the slough and killed three mallards with one shot. A good shot. Most duck for one shot yet. They were fine ones, as large as any tame ones. I bake this a.m. About 10 o'clock a fine deer passed not over 75 yards from our camp. He didn't wait for a gun. The other boys are working at "Lovedale Cottage". Going back after dinner we are disgusted to find that the cows got into the front door, walked through the "Drawing room" upsetting the piano and the furniture generally, and then pulled down 1/2 the walls. We were mad, but work at it and by night have it up to its old height again. Got some more game tonight, making 14 ducks and 3 snipe since Monday a.m. To-night we work some more at the "Advocate letter". Get to bed at 10. A pretty night.

Friday, Sept. 22nd

Up at 5.15. Cold, cold. Heavy frost. Have breakfast ready at 6. Work at "Lovedale" all forenoon. Roast duck for dinner. Jiminy it was good! Finished "Lovedale" complete at night. Heard wolves near camp tonight. The weather is lovely.

Saturday, Sept. 23rd

We are up at 5.30. Get two ducks roasted for our dinner. The oxen strayed away so we have to walk to work carrying with us 26 Biscets & 2 ducks for dinner. Went to 22. Worked at sods for awhile. Martin finds the oxen at the hay field and doesn't get to 22 in time for dinner. We four finished the whole dinner. The afternoon was put in on 28. Got along very nicely. Get back to camp at 7 and bake until 9.30. The weather is glorious; lovely nights. Bed at 10.15.

Sunday, Sept. 24th

Up at 8.45 after a good night's sleep. Get milk and have breakfast at 10.30. Fred Carss comes over early. We, Martin, Alex, Fred & I start away at 11.30 to search for the bones of a man in Qu'Appelle Valley, also for Indian graves. We found the bones. Then crossed over the river having had to swim for it and getting our clothes wetted getting them over. We could not find the relics of the Red Man, and had a terror of a time getting back over the river. I got all my clothes wet excepting socks & one boot. Returning to camp at 5 we have dinner of stewed duck & snipe (3 of each), making 14 duck & 3 snipe we ate since last Tuesday. The evening until 10 is spent writing letters.

Monday, Sept. 25th

Up at 5. Roast two ducks for dinner. Work on 28 getting done with both houses by 6 o'clock. Dandy houses. Whew! Night: we write more letters.

Tuesday, Sept. 26th

Up at 5.30. I went to try and get some ducks across the creek. Got no ducks but a lot of scratches getting over the creek. Shot my first prairie chicken going to work this a.m. Bruce also got one. We finish Jack's house by noon. Duck stew for dinner. Our flour is done. Starvation imminent. After dinner I repair to Carss' in quest of flour, returning bearing the staple article, and bake until 7. It thunders a little away west and tries hard to rain on us, but not more than a few drops visit us. I feel very tired tonight. The other boys were getting out poles for Bruce's house. Get to bed at 9.

Wednesday, Sept. 27th

Up at 5.30. Use the last of the oatmeal. Bruce, Alex & Jack go to Carss' to assist at his house. Martin takes a load of poles to 18 and meets one in a slough, where I'm gathering up hay. He is not well and goes to camp. I cock up 30 cocks of hay by 12. Go home, cook a chicken and eat it *all* myself. and yet didn't feel so terribly full after all. Went back to hay at 2. Finish up at 4 and go hunting duck. Got two little fellows and back to tent at 7. Read for a few hours. Boys get back from Carss' at 9.

Thursday, Sept. 28th

Up at 6. Jack & I get a load of hay over to 22 by noon. B. & Alex are working on 18. Martin sick. We have 3 ducks and a chicken roasted for dinner. After dinner the oxen ran away twice with us. First they ran to top of hill, then stopped. We were going for poles for Bruce. Oxen galloped all the way down the hill, the hay rack on the waggon bounced round but did no harm. We had an exciting time. We got the poles to 18. Then took two loads hay to 28, getting back to camp at 8. Very dark. The day has been cloudy and cold.

Friday, Sept. 29th

Up at 6. Jack B. & Alex go to hunt deer and we have to work to finish 18. Get through the work—carrying sods 70 yards—and back in good time for dinner. Turn out early after dinner and take a load of wood from 29 on to 22 & 28. Get back to camp at 5. Go over to Carss' for flour, &c and get back again about 9. The boys get back without game at 6. Saw a deer but couldn't get a shot at him. Carss has moved his camp in to the bluff and it presents a strange appearance at night. Camp fire under a gnarled old tree. Tonight as the moon rose the scene presented a curious romantic novel sight. We sat round the fire and talked for a long time. Pretty night.

Saturday, Sept. 30th

We lay until 6.30 this a.m. Our work is done for this fall. I bake for bkfast. Help Carss to put the ridge pole on his house. Have dinner there. A bath in Pile of Bones Creek and washing our clothes constitute the afternoon's work for Jack and me. Love is sick yet. The others went shooting and seeing Syndicate

land. Alex got a chicken, Jack 6 ducks. Mr. Carss came down and stayed with us until 10.30. Snow today.

Sunday, Oct. 1st

Up at 8. Stewed duck (one each) for breakfast. After bkfast Alex and I take a walk round 28. We are all invited to Carss' for dinner. Martin is not able to go. Such dressing and fixing up, and then away to dine out. We had roast duck *stuffed*, turnips, potatoes, bread, buns, Scotch bread, butter, milk, &c. Seated on a board picnic fashion we never enjoyed a meal better. We were all happy and hungry.

About 4 o'clock rain came on and wetted us on our way back to tent, and also wetted us after we were in camp. A cold rain. The tent presents a wash-day appearance while our clothes are hung on a line drying. We go to bed at 9. Today I looked at myself in a looking glass for the first time since we left Brandon. I hardly knew myself.

Monday, Oct. 2nd

Rise at 6. A terribly disagreeable morning; but, as Love wants to leave we consider it best to do so. Accordingly we are all busy packing up, &c until 11.15. We bid good-bye to the Valley. The whole outfit, oxen, waggon, plow, &c, &c, sold to Carss for \$275.00 *cash*. Mr. C. comes to Regina with us. I act B.P. most of the way. Have dinner at Jones & Firstbrooks' shanty. Mr. F. made it pleasant for us. Just an hour we stop then push on to the "Capital", arriving there at 7.45. The country over which we rode today is all good land thickly settled. On towards the City it degenerates considerably into "Aligator hide". The banks of the Creek get lower gradually until they are very little higher than the creek. We like our part far the best. Pitch camp in Page & Lafferty's lumber yard. Have a hearty supper. Meet Tatham in a store. Martin & Jack G. go on. We wait to see the "lie of the land". Got to bed at 11.45. Rain comes on shortly after.

Got some papers in the P.O.

Tuesday, Oct. 3rd

Up at 7. A beastly morning, mud horrible. Help Mr. Carss get his stuff ready. Dinner at 1.30. The weather clears up and produces a lovely afternoon. Mr. Carss starts for home at 3. We walk about a mile to the Creek with soap and towel and have a wash, and then take a thorough good look of the town and surroundings until dark. Have supper in the "Grand Union". To Mr. Sproat's tent until 10 then with a fearful load of baggage to cars. Train leaves here at 11.50. Fare to Flat Creek \$7.75, still in the hands of the C.P.R. Quite a number of passengers on board.

Regina is situated now on Sec. 19, Tp. 17, Range 19, 370 miles from Winnipeg, one mile east of the Creek, on a flat piece of prairie. The country on all sides looks

very pretty. Only a small portion is—as yet—surveyed. The Government & Syndicate are pulling against each other as to the location. Government have their buildings at the Creek on Sec. 13 next Tp. west. But the City is hugging the station so far. It is altogether unknown just where the City will be, but the general opinion is that it will be about where it is now. There are said to be 120 tents, houses, &c in the City now. Mails everyday now, having got a post Office. Some of the stores are quite large tents, the largest being Campbell & Bayne's. The hotels are four in number, all in tents. 50c per meal. Good bread 15c per loaf. No Drug Store. One doctor (Stitt); five or six lawyers, livery stable. Three or four lumber yards. Fire wood \$10.00 per cord. Mr. Sproat is putting up an office, &c. Carpenters' wages \$4.00 to \$5.00 per day.

Wednesday, Oct. 4th

Slept pretty well until 5.30. The cars are very fine and comfortable.

The End

THE FORT QU'APPELLE BOATING CLUB

On Tuesday evening a public meeting was held in the Qu'Appelle Valley Hotel, for the purpose of taking up the question of forming a boating club. As the world knows, we have as fine sheets of water here for the purposes of boating and fishing as are to be found in North America, and it has been thought by a number of our citizens that we had remained inactive long enough in the matter of organising an association for the purpose of making a systematic use of our privileges; therefore they concluded to make an endeavor to form a club for the purposes aforesaid. The reason for commencing the operations of a club at the present period of time is that the necessary funds may be secured so that boats may be obtained and the requisite boat house built by the opening of navigation next spring. These matters having been laid before the meeting by the chairman—E. W. Brine—it was unanimously resolved to form a club to be called the Fort Qu'Appelle Boating, Shooting, and Fishing Club. A code of rules and bylaws were then submitted by the committee appointed at the former meeting, which, after being discussed, was adopted with one or two amendments. The membership roll was then submitted to the meeting and received the signatures of the twenty-three persons present. The business of the election of officers was then proceeded with, and resulted as follows:

President—E. W. Brine. 1st Vice-President—W. B. Crosbie. 2nd Vice-President—W. S. Sutherland. Sec.-Treasurer—F. C. Gilchrist. Commodore—S. C. Elkington. Vice Commodore—R. S. Smith. Managing Committee—J. Leader, J. Calder, J. V. Farrell, W. R. Passy, E. W. Miller.

The meeting then adjourned till Friday, 9th November.

—*Qu'Appelle Vidette*, (Fort Qu'Appelle), October 11, 1888.

The Newspaper Scrapbook

An important forward step in the temperance movement, not only for the province, but it may safely be said of the Dominion, was taken yesterday with the foundation of the Social and Moral Reform Council for the Province of Saskatchewan. The formation of the council marks the unifying of the Christian churches and temperance organizations of the province for the purpose of waging active and aggressive warfare against the liquor traffic.

The bodies represented at yesterday's convention, which sat throughout the day in the basement of Knox Church, were the Church of England, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, W.C.T.U., R.T. of T., and the Trade and Labor Councils of Regina and Moose Jaw. Among the delegates present were the following:

Church of England—Bishop Newnham, of Prince Albert; Rev. G. C. Hill, Rev. C. R. Littler, of Regina. Presbyterian—Rev. E. A. Henry, Regina; Rev. A. C. Strachan, Arcola; Rev. W. Patterson, Lumsden; Rev. J. Lashman, Fleming; A. P. Bompas, Wolseley; Rev. Wilson, Balgonie; R. M. Weir, Regina. Methodist—Rev. C. W. Brown, Mayor Smith, Regina; Rev. E. J. Chegwin, Moose Jaw; Rev. Thos. Lawson, Radisson; Rev. J. C. Switzer, Wolseley; D. J. Thom, Wm. Hindson and C. C. Knight, Regina. Baptists—Rev. G. H. Jones, D. S. Kniseley, J. G. Milne, John Fisher, T. A. Smeed, Mrs. J. G. Milne, Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Miller, A. M. Gale, Regina; J. G. Mitchell, Qu'Appelle; A. Dale, Grenfell; Rev. A. Westaway, Indian Head. W.C.T.U.—Mrs. Merrick, Mrs. Reynolds, Mrs. McLaughlin, Mrs. R. M. Sinton, Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. F. N. Darke, Mrs. McCannel, Mrs. C. C. Knight, Mrs. Burdette, and Mrs. Geo. Mollard, Regina. R. T. of T.—F. C. Reynolds, Jas. Bole, Geo. Gamble, L. Lownsbrough, Geo. W. Wagner, Dr. H. M. Stevens, J. R. Gayton, E. B. Lorimer, Regina; R. A. Magee, Wolseley; J. P. Westaway, Henry Eard, Indian Head. Labor—Jas. Summerville and Fred Gray, Moose Jaw; Hugh Peat, Indian Head.

The Morning Leader (Regina), Dec. 14, 1907.

The Royal Anamatograph Company showed at the town hall on Monday and Tuesday evenings, drawing full houses. The anamatograph is a sort of magic lantern exhibition of kinetoscopic pictures—photographs of motions. The exhibition included representations of prize fights, fire brigade runs, bathing scenes, etc. The show was a novelty and very entertaining. Between the pictures, character songs, dances and sketches were given by Will McLeod and Barney and Grace Flynn. Miss Doyle was a young and quite proficient pianist. Mr. McLeod sang some fairly good comic songs in first rate voice. Barney Flynn proved himself an adept dancer, quite above the average. Of Miss Flynn, it is a pity that anything has to be said. She was 500 per cent worse than anything that ever before appeared on a Regina stage. In justice to the management it should be stated that on the second night she was prevented from appearing in solos.

The Leader (Regina), August 19, 1897.

Book Reviews

CUMBERLAND HOUSE JOURNALS AND INLAND JOURNALS 1775-82, Second Series, 1779-82. *Rich, E. E. and Johnson, A. M.* (eds.), with an introduction by Richard Glover. The Hudson's Bay Record Society: London, 1952. Pp. 313, lxii.

THE Hudson's Bay Record Society of London has published the second volume in its series of journals covering the establishment of the Company's first trading post in what is now Saskatchewan. This post, Cumberland House, was also the company's first venture in fur gathering away from the shore of Hudson Bay. The two volumes which record the fruits of the new policy are of first rate interest, therefore, in understanding the history of the fur trade era in Canadian history. They throw, as well, some revealing light on the early history of this province.

The volumes are published under the general title: *Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journals 1775-82*. The introduction to this volume, as to the first, was written by Richard Glover, M.A., Ph.D., associate professor of history at the University of Manitoba. In the first volume of the journals, Mr. Glover was at pains to set the documents in their historical framework. His introduction, therefore, was a major essay in interpretation of the early years of the rivalry between the traders from Hudson Bay and those from Montreal. This time he has a much narrower task to perform.

In the first place, Professor Glover introduces us to Humphrey Marten, chief factor at York, under whose direction the Cumberland and Inland posts were established and maintained during most of the period. In the second place he draws attention to the work of the Orkney men who made up the vast majority of the workers in the Company's ranks at this time. And lastly, he discusses the first recorded plague that swept across the prairies—the small-pox epidemic of 1781 and 1782.

Professor Glover's championship of Humphrey Marten and the Orkney men is vigorous and enthusiastic. He makes a strong case for both; he refutes in detail evidence submitted by earlier writers to show that Marten was an irascible bully and the Orkney men were incompetent. This reviewer is inclined to the view that Professor Glover is forced to over-emphasize the importance of the criticism of Marten and the Orkney men in order to justify the heavy artillery he has used in their defence. I found somewhat tedious the detailed proof of propositions I was willing to grant from the beginning.

The manner in which Professor Glover handles the small-pox epidemic of 1781-82 is altogether different. Here his introduction is lucid, restrained and greatly illuminating. This disaster cut at the root of the fur trade by destroying the people who were both producers and consumers of the merchants' goods. It is remarkable that the trade, either from Montreal or Hudson Bay, survived this disaster so well. That it did so is an equally great tribute to the recuperative power of the Indians of the forest and the plains.

But most of all, the epidemic was a disaster to the Indians themselves. The simple narratives of the Hudson's Bay Company men forcefully underline the impact of this disease upon an ignorant and superstitious people. When the disease struck a camp, the Indians fled. They did not know why they ran or what haven they would find, they simply ran. And in the running they spread the disease over half a continent.

The fur trade men believed, and probably with some justification, that the disease was carried into the Canadian Northwest by Indians who went to trade on the Mississippi. This view is reinforced by David Thompson's narrative. Thompson spoke to an Indian who had first come upon the effects of it in a Snake Indian encampment near the Red Deer River.

But however it started, the speed with which it spread is remarkable. Evidence on this point is at hand in the Hudson House and Cumberland Journals. The first word of the epidemic reached Hudson House on December 2, 1781, when a hunting party returned to the fort to tell of the disaster among the Indians. By December 11, the first victims appeared at Cumberland House. On January 2, the factor at Cumberland noted that U, Basquia Indians coming from the east had not heard of the disease. Before January was out, the plague had hit the main encampments of the U, Basquia and the chieftain of the tribe was one of its victims. In less than two months during the dead of winter the disease had been carried eastward nearly 200 miles. It penetrated eastward finally to Hudson Bay itself, though in less virulent form, and northward beyond the Arctic Circle. The narrative amply justifies Professor Glover's observation:

Whichever way one takes it, this slaughter of the Indians by the small-pox was perhaps as shattering a disaster as any native race outside Tasmania has ever received from the white man; and it was all the more stunning because its destruction was compressed into a period of fifteen months or less.

As a sort of marginal note on the records of the fur trade, I would like to comment on the shabby treatment accorded Saskatchewan's present-day primary industry. The custom of Hudson's Bay men was to establish a garden at each new post. Hence, it is fair to conclude that the first agriculture practised in Saskatchewan was at Cumberland House. I searched the record diligently to find what was grown and how much. I found frequent notations that the men were digging in the garden, or that snow fell after the garden was planted or, oddly enough, that two men were detailed one summer to carry water to the garden. This is probably the first record of irrigation in Saskatchewan. But the post officers never appeared to consider the harvest worth recording. On the other hand, there are almost daily records of the number of fish caught. The catch of sturgeon ran, at least on one occasion, as high as twenty. There are similar references to the harvest of goldeyes and other fish. But not a word about the harvest from the soil.

ALEX R. CAMERON

TALES OF THE TOUCHWOODS. FROM 1880-1953. *Compiled by Mrs. M. Cossar and Mrs. S. Jeal.* Regina: Western Printers Association, 1953. Pp. 112, illus. REMINISCING. *By Emil Dionne.* Spokane: The Evergreen Press, 1952. Pp. 64, illus., 50 cents.

THROUGH the efforts of Mrs. Mary Cossar and Mrs. Stanley Jeal, a large collection of personal reminiscences of early days in the Touchwood Hills area has been compiled. The resultant booklet forms a fitting memorial to the pioneer families of that district, for the stories have been woven about the families themselves and arranged in sequence according to the year of arrival of each family in the locality. Settlement of the district began in 1880 and the stories of new arrivals are continued through to 1910. Where the first generation has already passed on, sons and daughters or close friends have provided the story. Included in the publication, as well, are interesting accounts of the Golden Jubilee observations of the Round Plain S. D. and the Stone Church. A number of poems, chiefly from the pen of "Touchwood Bill", the late William Fergusson, are interspersed among the stories.

While it becomes apparent that the locality described included the school districts of Round Plain and Kutawa and some neighboring communities, it might be suggested that as an aid to the reader some precise information with respect to the area involved and perhaps a brief chronology or outline of the development of the community might have been appended. However, this lack does not detract from the real value of the booklet, which goes beyond an interest simply for those who may know the persons or places mentioned. Here has been preserved a fine collection of reminiscences the like of which are too seldom committed to paper, let alone printed. Taken together they provide an insight into pioneer conditions. Naturally, they are unique in that they apply to a particular locality and to specific individuals, but they have also a wider application in that they illustrate the problems, adaptations, and development of institutions which are typical of settlement throughout the prairies and, indeed, are common in certain measure to those who forsake established homes to open up new country anywhere in the world.

In contrast to this collection of pioneer experiences in a farming community is the very readable account which Mr. Emil Dionne provides of the early days of settlement in Northern Manitoba. The Dionne family made successive moves from Michigan to Mackinac, Green Bush, Hudson Bay Junction, and The Pas before returning to the United States. "Big John", the father, was, to use the author's phrase, one of "the real McCoy's of the timberland of the North", and the early chapters of this autobiography give a detailed description of logging operations in the region of The Pas just prior to the first World War. Vivid recollections of annual dog derbies at The Pas, dating from the first one-hundred mile race in 1915, are included. Also of interest are references to Father Guy and Monseigneur Charlebois, the first Bishop of Northern Manitoba, to whose devoted work in face of the adverse climate and generally primitive conditions just tribute is paid. The later chapters of Dionne's story which deal with his wanderings through the United States during the depression and the war period are not pertinent to the development of this country.

ALLAN R. TURNER

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MIDALE AND DISTRICT. 1903-1953. By Peter Hultgren. Midale: The Author, 1953. Pp. 32, illus., 50 cents.

GOLDEN JUBILEE, 1903-1953, MOOSE JAW, SASKATCHEWAN. By J. E. Pascoe and the Moose Jaw *Times-Herald*. Moose Jaw; 1953. Pp. 52, illus.

A NUMBER of Saskatchewan communities have this year published local histories as part of their observance of anniversaries of founding or of incorporation as towns and cities. Peter Hultgren is the author of a commendable history of the town of Midale and district, which this year observed its fiftieth anniversary. While the author does not indicate his sources of information it is apparent from the wealth of detail that he has made a careful investigation of his field. He follows a chronological organization, beginning with a description of the arrival of the homesteaders and the problems which they faced. He continues with the story of the establishment of the village, named in honor of Dr. Mitchell of Macoun and Mr. Ole Dale, the first settler in the district. He traces the establishment of churches, schools, and other institutions, together with the story of the community through two world wars and the depression period, ending with an appraisal of the flourishing community, which can boast continued good crops and a producing oil well. Notable examples of community enterprise within recent years included the building of a Union hospital and the Memorial Rink. In connection with the latter, enterprising supporters rented a farm, seeded it to wheat, and contributed the returns from a bountiful harvest to the rink fund. The booklet is well-printed and the modern air photo on the cover provides an interesting comparison with the panoramic view of the town in 1909 which is to be found in the illustrated centre section.

Moose Jaw also observed a Golden Jubilee this year, and Mr. J. E. Pascoe and the Moose Jaw *Times-Herald* have collaborated to produce a well-illustrated and informative booklet in connection therewith. What was true of Midale is also true of Moose Jaw, only the stage is larger, with institutions geared to the needs of the larger population and with more individuals working singly or collectively as "The City Grew and Spread its Streets". The "Moose Jaw Story" is traced from its beginnings in the pioneer settlement of 1882, and an interesting map shows the old Fort Walsh trail which antedated the settlement together with others which emanated from it. The history of subsequent development is told in a number of stories of which "A Town is Born", "Best Built Town in the Territories", "First Electric Lights in 1890", and "Moose Jaw Started First School District" are representative titles. The booklet is attractively designed and reflects careful research, with frequent quotations from early newspapers.

Now that the span of years since the first settlements in the province has reached the state where jubilees will become the order of the day for more and more communities, it is to be hoped that the example provided by Midale and Moose Jaw will be followed so that we may have more of these local histories compiled while yet there are original settlers whose reminiscences can add color and detail to them.

ALLAN R. TURNER

Notes and Correspondence

Included with this number of *Saskatchewan History* is a set of indexes to volumes I to V inclusive, prepared by Miss Christine MacDonald of the staff of the Legislative Library, Regina. It will be our policy henceforth to issue a similar index each year.

We are pleased to salute the establishment in our sister province of a new historical journal, *The Alberta Historical Review*. The first number appeared during the spring of this year and will appear quarterly. *The Review* is published by The Historical Society of Alberta and is edited by W. Everard Edmonds of Edmonton. Its aim is "to print authentic first hand accounts interpretative of the life of the province".

Our Saskatchewan readers will find as an enclosure with this issue a folder issued by the Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Committee dealing with the marking and preservation of historic sites. The Sub-Committee on Historic Sites, Maps and Publications is promoting a program of marking under both local and provincial auspices, and is anxious to elicit the co-operation of individuals and groups in each community. Mr. J. D. Herbert M.A., Director of the Historic Sites Branch of the Department of Natural Resources, is administering this program for the Jubilee sub-committee.

Contributors

A. N. REID is Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, and has written several articles for *Saskatchewan History* on the development of local government in the North-West Territories.

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(WINTER, 1948)

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